
T H E

C R I S I S.

N U M B E R XXXIII. To be continued Weekly

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1775. [Price Two-pence Half-penny]

* * Whilst the News Papers are Daily FILLED (in compliance with a ridiculous Proclamation, and to the eternal Disgrace of the Printers) with the laboured Performances of Ministerial Writers in favour of DESPOTISM; the CRISIS will be found to contain the most spirited Essays in support of the CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES of ENGLAND and AMERICA, and the natural Rights of Mankind. The Authors are determined to proceed at this dangerous and alarming Crisis, even at the hazard of their Lives; regardless of any STAR CHAMBER Proceedings of the King's Attorney General, or Ten Thousand PROCLAMATIONS, fabricated by the infamous Minions of an arbitrary DESPOT, and issued from the Sink of Corruption. Firmly persuaded they shall meet with the Assistance, Support, and Protection of those who are the real Friends of their Country.

——— How short of Reason he must fall,

Who thinks *all* made for *One*, not *One* for *all*! ——— POPE.



Y two last Papers described the *morbid State* of the *Ministerial Majority* of the *great Council* of this Nation, pointed the only Cure by *Dissolution*, and shewed the Reason and Necessity for applying that Cure in time. I shall still pursue my Thoughts upon that Subject. And here I must averr, that a *Patriot King* can neither Think nor Act with a venal and corrupt Parliament. The *Brunswick Family* were called to the Crown of this Kingdom as *Patriot Princes*, in favour of Liberty and the Protestant Cause. Has Liberty been supported by the Violation of the Rights of Election, as in *Wilkes's Case*?

Case? Has the Protestant Religion been maintained by the late *Quebec Bill*, for establishing Popery in that Part of his Majesty's Dominions? But the Father of our Church, the Primate and Metropolitan of all England, has not hesitated to declare lately in the House of Lords, that, in his Opinion, the *Quebec Bill* had not established, but only tolerated Popery in that Province.—Fye, Fye, my Lord!—read the Bill again:—your Grace's Character should be more sacred than that of a *Mansfield*, a *Denbigh*, or a *Sandwich*. Permit me to assure you, that it can be no Honour to your Grace to resemble your Predecessor *Laud*, in any Part of your ecclesiastic Character.

If our Norman Conqueror, *William*, thought it Wise to pay some respect to the National Constitution, will a *Brunswick* ever set his Face against it? Could that Patriotic Legislature, to whose paternal Care we owe our present happy Establishment in Church and State, could they have supposed that any future King would connive at the most dangerous Innovations in both? Would a Patriot King have suffered so wicked, so anti-constitutional a Parliament, to have sat another Day? Could such a King have been afraid of wanting Supplies, when he had gained the Hearts of his People? Could a Dissolution of one of the most iniquitous Parliaments that ever infested England, have been productive of any other Consequence, than that National Happiness which was the primary Object at the glorious Revolution? It is true this Parliament was dissolved at last, but for no Patriotic Reason; the Administration saw, and feared a glimmering Spark of Virtue, not yet totally extinguished by Luxury and Corruption. They feared a Test and Association.—Shall we say that our Sovereign feared it too? Were all the three great Estates of this Kingdom in league against the Rights and Liberties of the People? I could wish that a Statesman of Lord *Mansfield's* acknowledged Abilities, would give an Honest Answer to this Question. If either, or both of the inferior Estates were culpable (as they most certainly were) a Dissolution of that arbitrary Body was but national Justice. This Justice was not only delayed, but denied, in defiance of Magna Charta, the great Bulwark of the English Constitution. If that sacred Act of Parliament is yet in force, and not erased or destroyed, it will Support me in asserting, that Justice has been withheld, by not dissolving, at the Suit of the Subject; and the most flagrant System of Iniquity has been promoted by dissolving the last infamous Parliament at the instigation of the Minister; who is really, and truly, Lord *Bute* still. To that detested Influence we owe every national Grievance since the Commencement of the present Reign. Two of the greatest of these Grievances are the long Continuance of the last, and the Smuggling of the present Parliament.

ment. The Consequence of which will, most probably, be a Civil War in *England* and *America*; nor will that War remain unembroiled by the hostile Powers of *France* and *Spain*. By the sudden and artful Diffolution of the last Parliament, Corruption was not only connived at and tolerated, but (like Popery by the *Quebec Bill*) it was encouraged, propagated, and established.

When the People petitioned for a Diffolution of that execrable Parliament, they were answered with Contumely and Frowns. At that Tyrannic Period, when the Lower House was Rotten, were not Twenty-five sound Peers in the Upper, who had Courage and Honesty enough to do their Duty by procuring Justice for the People? Had they all forgot the Seventy-third Clause of Magna Charta? or, is that glorious Statute obsolete? Perhaps, a Repeal of it is to be attempted by the corrupt Majority in the present Parliament. Till that Charter is annihilated, the Peers of England (I mean the Honest Part of them) are bound to see Right and Justice done to all the People. Though they are not the Representatives of the People, they are the Guardians of the Realm, and as such they are answerable to the People for all the bad Effects of any unjust Conduct in the Sovereign, against which they did not oppose all their Weight. It is not enough that they protest in their own Journals against Arbitrary and unjust Proceedings; they ought also to demand, and as far as in them lies, to procure Redress. I will not (in the insolent and gross Language of Lord *Denbigh*) say that far honest Men than his Lordship were wicked and traitorous Men for not doing this; but I will say that their courtly Modesty has betrayed them into a Breach of national Trust; for which Breach they are accountable to the whole Realm. Though they are not Delegates of the People, they are, like constitutional Eyes in the Body Politic, bound to be watchful and observant over the other two Estates for the Public Good; that no Innovations may be made, that no Strides towards Despotism may be taken by either. They are Part of the great Council of the Crown by Birth, when in Parliament assembled; but they can neither live, nor act with Dignity, in such Times as these, unless they live and act for their Country. What pernicious Effects to the whole British Empire have flowed, and are still likely to flow, from their Modest and passive Silence, at a Time when the whole Kingdom was alarmed, and just supplicating the Throne for a Redress of Grievances! to be relieved against the daily Oppressions of a corrupt Majority, stood foremost in their Prayers. They prayed (and well they might)

might) above all Things, for a Dissolution of the last perfidious Parliament. It was denied them in prejudice of Justice and the Constitution, to be granted shortly afterwards in favour of Tyranny and Corruption.

Let us now mark the Consequences of this Denial in the one Case, and of this ready Compliance in the other. Here We too may be well astonished in our Turn, and astonished with much more Reason than a Constitutional King could be, at the just Petitions of an injured and aggrieved People.—We are astonished at an impious attempt to change the Constitution of England by violating the Rights of Election. We are astonished at the Tyrannic Treatment of *America*, who has an equal Right to the same Constitution. Nor can we agree with Lord *Mansfield*, (who as Chief Justice of England, ought to be the Guardian of English Liberty) when he declares in an illiberal, servile, and tyco-phantic Tone, that a bad Constitution is better than no Constitution at all. Yet his Lordship, like another *Drances* (whose Character he remembers) is not ashamed to declare this in a *British Senate*. I Answer, that (whatever an eloquent Coward may think) it is better not to exist at all, than to exist a Slave! His Lordship, I presume, is of a very different Opinion. His late Sentiments on this Head respect *America*, whose Religion our Parliament are endeavouring to subvert in derogation of the royal Word to our settlers at *Quebec*; and whose Pockets they are picking, not by legal Taxation, but by Tyranny. For who will affirm that the Money of the Americans is the Property of the People of England? If not, how can it be legally disposed of by the Representatives of the People of England only, in a British Parliament, to which no *American Representatives* are admitted? The Civil Law says, your *Scotch Law*, Lord *Mansfield*, says, and our English Law says, nay common Sense says, *Nemo dat quod non habet*. “No one can give and grant what is not his own.—Had the last fatal Parliament been dissolved when they first attempted to Tyrannize, England might have escaped a Civil War, and *America* Desolation. I flatter myself that She will yet escape the Chains of English Tyrants; and if She must fall, that She will surrender Herself to some foreign Power, who cannot use her with more despotic Severity than her natural Parent. Lord *Denbigh* asked some Time ago in the House of Lords, what End Administration could have in enslaving *America*? I will Answer him without reserve.—Administration hopes for Plunder from *America*.—Corruption cannot be supported without Means.—They are grasping at the Treasures of *America*, not to defray the Expences of American Government, but for
their

their own vile Uses. A free Parliament which alone can save this Nation, would destroy them. Traytors would be impeached and suffer. When the civil Counsellors of the Sovereign were called for, to what Asylum must *Bute* and *Mansfield* fly? *North's* Servility might, perhaps, be pitied; and the blastrings of a *Denbigh* and a *Sandwich* would be heard no more. Should the Hopes of these Men succeed, we should soon see them and their Dependants reaping the Spoils of their flagitious Labours. An arbitrary and rapacious System of Government would ensue, and we should soon see a new Exchequer, and a new Treasury, arise out of the Ruins of *America*. To these there must be necessary and unnecessary Appendants, swarms of official Locusts; and those industriously multiplied, for the further Advancement of Corruption and Tyranny, not only in *America* but (as *America* has foretold) in *Great Britain* likewise. Nor would ministerial Providence be remiss in planting a standing Army in *America* to secure their virtuous Conquest, they would, like true Patriots, extend their Paternal Care still further; they would never rest till they had fixed their despotic Government upon a respectable and permanent Foundation. A Vice-Roy, a Bashaw of seven Tails, must be appointed to silence the Murmurs of his Captives with a Frown.—Thus have I reminded Lord *Denbigh* of the Ends which he and his corrupt Fraternity most certainly have in endeavouring to enslave *America*.

I now proceed to enumerate the further Consequences of not dissolving the late execrable Parliament in due Time, and of procuring another Parliament, by the basest Means, equal, if not superior in Merit to the Former. One of the most alarming Consequences will be, the destruction of our Liberties by the constituted Representatives, and fiduciary Guardians of the People; for such are the Lords and Commons of this Realm, in Parliament assembled. One Innovation in the System of political Government, will ever produce another. Thus will artful Tyrants effectuate a total Change of a national Constitution by degrees. Such a Change we must expect to see. The bloody and inhuman Scene is already opened in *America* to be closed in *England*. Had a former Parliament been dissolved at the Suit of the Subject, instead of the Minister, and had a subsequent Parliament not been smuggled, and infamously packed by a treacherous Surprise upon the People, the present wicked ministerial System had been broke; *England* had regained her constitutional Freedom, (particularly as to her Rights of Election) and *America* had

had regained that State to which She is intitled to by the Laws of God, of Nature, of *England*, of Humanity—by the plighted Faith of Sovereigns, and by her own Merits and Virtues; the greatest of which is, not that She has bravely by her own Arm, subdued our savage Enemies, the Indians: not that She has as bravely assisted in subduing our more polite Enemies the *French*; but that She disdains to be subdued herself, by her more inimical and perfidious Parent.

Had that accursed Parliament been dissolved, and the Wicked taken away from before the King, then had his Throne been established in Righteousness; then had a most infernal Groupe of Traytors gained their Reward in this World, upon the Scaffold and the Gibbet; perhaps, their Holy Father, the Pope, (whose Power they are now establishing in *America*) might have ensured their Souls, for a valuable Consideration, in the next. Then had a deluded Sovereign once more recovered his own Honour, and the expiring Affections of his People; then had this Reign been no longer marked for Dissimulation, Hypocrisy, Perfidy, Prodigality, Cruelty, Injustice, Tyranny, and BLOOD. Then would the Descendants of the trayterous Thane, and his ministerial Herd, (the most Infamous and daring that ever yet made the Reign of a British King truly odious to his People) be taught by the recorded Punishments of their detested Ancestors,

—How short of Reason he must fall,

Who thinks *all* made for *One*, not *One* for *all*.

C A S C A.

N. B. In No. XXXIV. we propose to DISSECT the Master Butcher, Lord Butc, Lord Mansfield, and the *Proclamation*.

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